1; Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

erecting one or more houses. An unmarried youth, however, never owns a house. Similarly the family of a poor trapper may be unable to afford canvas for a wall tent and so be forced to spend the summer under a tarp. In winter he can secure the materials for a log cabin without monetary cost but, unless assisted by his wife, will often find it difficult to secure free cooperation in assembling the logs. Poor people, therefore, are distinguished by the fact that they own only one house and that of a relatively small size such as could be assembled with a minimum of effort.

Kaska dwelling forms are open camps, tarps (or fly tents), mosquito tents, wall tents, tent frames, and houses. No matter what type of dwelling is used, occupancy is almost always by a single family. In cold weather, during visits, or in the event of death, two families may share one shelter. Such arrangements, however, are always recognized as temporary. Houses and tents occupied for more than one night are always located within easy access to a river or lake. Mildred Long once expressed surprise at a white man building his home on the Highway, a mile from the river, and said that she preferred to be able to look out on the river from her home.

Camps. Open camps are always temporary and consist of a fire and a pallet of spruce brush for a bed. In cold weather such a camp is surrounded by a wall of brush banked with snow. A fly or tarp is constructed out of eight ounce canvas and is generally about seven feet long and seven feet wide. The fly is erected by supporting the canvas lengthwise on a ridge pole resting in two forked sticks. The ridge pole is two or three feet higher in front than in the rear, and the corners of the tarp are tied to four guy posts, three or four feet high, which are driven into the ground at an angle leaning away from the shelter. The sides of such a camp are usually open but may be piled with poplar or spruce brush for protection against direct sun in summer or wind and cold in fall and winter. Food, clothing, and other goods are stored at the rear or along the sides of the shelter, while a fire is built in front. In winter the fire is backed with brush or a small canvas windbreak. Tarps are used in summer for permanent shelters. In winter men use them as overnight camps while traveling along a trap line.

Single or double size mosquito tents made of muslin are generally purchased ready-made for two or three dollars. They are provided with ties which are attached to front and rear poles about six feet high and to shorter guy posts planted at each corner. No ridge pole is required. Easy to erect, such shelters are used during the summer by adults, adolescent boys and unmarried men. They are primarily sleeping tents designed to provide protection against insects. A tarp is sometimes erected over a mosquito tent to provide additional protection from long rain.

Wall tents are generally made from eight ounce canvas in varying sizes which are referred to as four, five, or seven strip tents. A strip of canvas is thirty inches wide; sewing requires about three inches of overlapping, so that a four strip tent is about nine feet long and seven feet wide. The greatest height is about six feet. Wall tents are supported from a ridge pole and are anchored to six guy posts (Pl. 9, a). These shelters are widely used as summer dwellings. In winter, with the walls enclosed by a tent frame, they serve as permanent residences. A man may also erect one or two wall tents on his trap line for tem-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

342 porary winter use. In summer such camps rarely contain heating appliances but in winter a stove is always used. Food, clothing, and bedding are commonly stored at the sides and back of a wall tent.

361 Since the dwelling forms so far described are often temporary and frequently moved,
342 the Indians have, to a considerable extent, systematized the procedure of making camp. Either a man or woman may set up camp; sometimes both cooperate in the task. The first
[514 objective is to find a level piece of ground. Former campsites are generally avoided as is the
515] brush close to such a site, since this area has probably been used for toilet purposes. If the site selected is not already free of underbrush, it is cleared. The branches are cut off close to the ground and the stumps dug out. Next poles must be found. Poplar saplings, which are naturally provided with strong forks at convenient intervals, are preferred as supports for the ridge pole. The ridge pole is generally a slim, straight, red spruce. After these poles have been cleaned of branches, and, in the case of the ridge pole, of rough bark, they are transported to the camp site. The front and rear poles, designed to support the ridge pole, are here sharpened with an ax. In this process the circular trunk is tapered to a point by being axed on four surfaces. The pole is then thrust into the ground until firmly anchored. The tent is slipped over or tied to the ridge pole and the latter fitted into the forked supports.

Camp making presents different problems in a spruce forest lacking poplar. Spruce trees do not have strong forking branches. Hence, instead of being supported in a forked stick, the rear of the ridge pole is sometimes lashed or nailed to a conveniently located spruce tree while in front of the tent two spruce saplings are crossed, thrust into the ground, and lashed. The ridge pole is then placed into the crotch. In winter, when the ground is frozen, a tent is erected with poles which are simply crossed and lashed without being anchored in the ground.

352 After the tent is erected, the ground inside the dwelling and immediately in front of the entrance is covered with spruce brush. The brush is placed with the thicker end of the branches extending in one direction—either toward the back or side of the tent. Subsequent branches are partially thrust under the brush already laid.

512 During fair weather, if people stop traveling in the early part of the day, tents are not erected until nearly nightfall. Fire, however, is made immediately and sometimes brush is put down to make sitting on the ground more comfortable.

342 10 *Tent frames.* We come now to relatively more permanent shelters. A tent frame consists essentially of a four or five strip wall tent set inside four walls made of horizontal poles. The walls are a little over two feet high and usually contain a door. In summer, tent frames of lumber are sometimes used in Lower Post but generally tent frames are made of logs and used primarily as winter dwellings by a family which lacks a cabin. They are usually constructed by men; a widow, however, may build her own tent frame. The following observations give the procedure followed in tent frame construction.

9:23:45 (Old Man's Place). Hans Donnelly used green jackpine poles, averaging about four inches in diameter, for his tent frame. He cut the poles about one-eighth of a mile from the campsite and packed them home on his shoulder. His brother Donald (14) fitted the poles and put them in place. The corners were joined in bowl shaped trenches which were chinked with moss

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

before subsequent poles were placed in position. After each pole was placed in position, it was lightly hewed along the upper and inner surfaces (Pl. 6, c). The two brothers worked for about five hours. 342

9:24:45. Hans worked alone today and finished the walls of the tent frame. He laid the logs to a height of five poles, or about two feet, and explained that chinking would be done after the shelter was completed. When all the poles had been set in place, Hans proceeded to cut a doorway, sawing through the first three logs and about two inches into the next log. On this log the baseboard of the entrance was nailed. The entry was cut about two feet wide.[6] After the logs had been cut through, they were hewed on both sides of the entry. A doorjamb and door were then constructed out of hewed poplar, the door being attached to the inside of the doorjamb with three moosehide hinges, five inches long and two and a half inches wide (Fig. 4, c). A single bolt was made out of a piece of poplar, four inches long, one and a half inches wide, and one inch thick. A single nail was used to secure the bolt to a base on the doorjamb. The bolt now could be turned to make it fall across the door, thus locking the latter from the inside.

When Hans finished the door he began to level the ground within the tent frame. Using an ax he removed roots and dug out moss. In this process he depressed the floor level of the structure a few inches below the lowest log. After this he went into the bush and secured two forked poplars on which to support the ridge pole. The latter consisted of a straight red spruce, about two inches in diameter. The supporting poles were placed about fifteen inches in front and in back of the tent frame. More care was taken in planting these poles than is usually taken for a wall tent or tarp. The poles were also higher than usual, because of the fact that the tent frame allows the tent to rest a foot or so above the ground. To lift the ridge pole with the tent attached, Hans used a forked stick, two feet long. When the ridge pole was in position Hans discovered it was too high. The supporting poles therefore had to be cut several inches. Guy posts were set outside of the structure to support the walls of the tent. The canvas hung inside of the frame, where it was nailed against the walls with cleats made of hewed spruce saplings. Hans worked about eight hours. [401]

Houses. There are several types of houses. Classified according to materials and construction, there are houses of mill sawed lumber and houses of logs. Considered with regard to function, there are home cabins located in the winter settlements, which are occupied with few interruptions from September to April; line cabins built in the brush, which are temporarily occupied while a man and his family are living on the trap line, and summer houses which some families occupy while living in Lower Post during the summer (Table 7).

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF HOUSING MATERIALS TO HOUSE FUNCTIONS

House Types	*Milled Sawed Lumber*	*Logs*
Home Cabins	Not used; recently floors and roofs of milled sawed lumber have been constructed.	Used almost exclusively with the exceptions noted in adjoining column.
Line Cabins	Not used.	Used exclusively.
Summer Houses	Used almost exclusively.	Formerly used but now abandoned.

[6] When the doorjamb was in place the entry proved to be too narrow, and this provoked considerable [illegible].

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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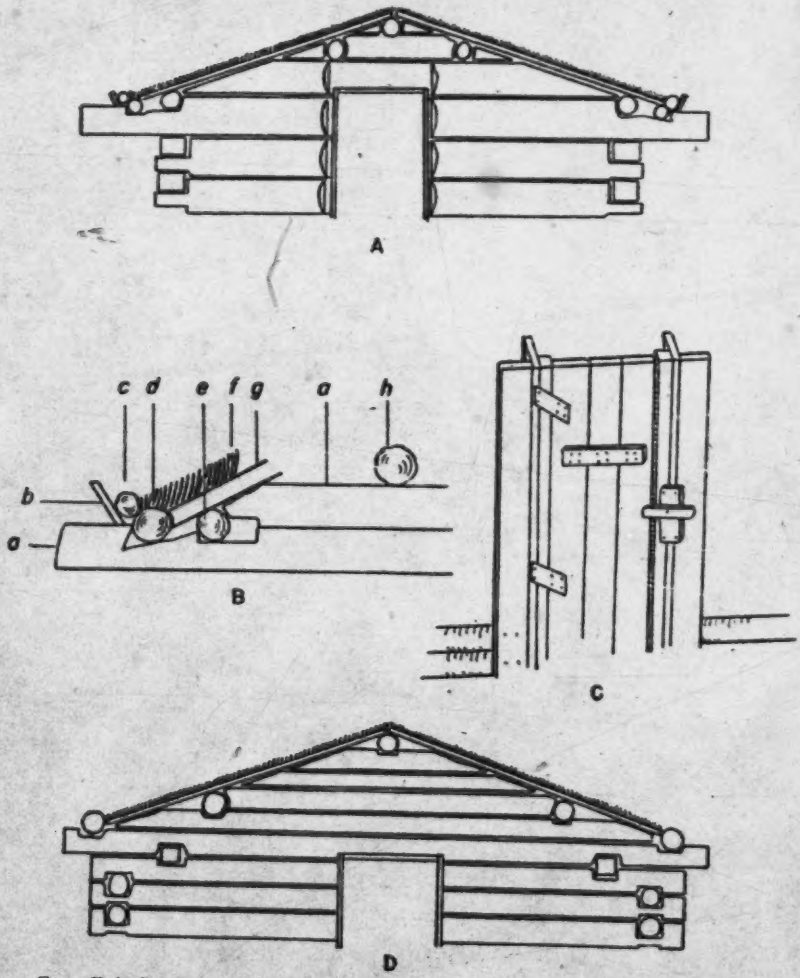

FIG. 4. Kaska Construction: A, Older type log cabin; B, Roof support in older type cabin (a, Width logs; b, Wedge driven into a drilled hole; c, d, e, Supporting logs; f, Dirt; g, Roof pole; h, Auxiliary ridge pole); C, Door for tent frame; D, New type log cabin.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

The details of the construction of frame houses will not be presented. Despite their growing importance, they are limited to Lower Post, where lumber is readily available and where summer occupancy does not require the greater warmth of chinked log walls. Such houses are sometimes built with the aid of a skilled white carpenter. If white assistance is used, it is generally for the purpose of sawing and fitting the frame and rafters. Varying in size, the frame house averages about fifteen by seventeen feet and generally contains only one room. The interior of the walls are usually faced with heavy blue paper, sold locally by the roll, while the exterior is covered with black roofing paper. The roof is covered with a double layer of roofing paper but is not shingled. A frame house generally contains two windows and a door, together with such modern hardware as a doorknob and metal hinges.

Log cabins vary in size according to their functions. Home cabins are larger than trap line cabins, averaging about fourteen by seventeen feet as compared to ten by fourteen foot line cabins. As mill sawed lumber has become available for roofing and flooring, the size of home cabins has tended to increase.

A man generally requests his son or son-in-law to help him build a log cabin or else he may hire young men to assist him. Either the width or length of the house may be set parallel to the river. Doors never open away from the river. There are, however, no rules for orienting a house, and an individual will build on any site that suits his fancy, quite without regard to the situation of neighboring structures. Damp or mossy places are avoided for house sites as dampness is known to cause the bottom logs to rot. Low buildings are disliked as they are thought to "carry sickness."

When the builder has decided upon the dimensions of a cabin, he proceeds to cut red spruce logs to fit his undrawn plans. For a durable home cabin, the poles selected are about ten or more inches in diameter; in a line cabin they average about five inches. The bark is removed from the logs, which are then transported to camp and stacked until assistance becomes available to put them in place. Putting up the walls is regarded as the hardest part of constructing a cabin. As each log is set in place, a bowl shaped trench is axed about six inches from the end of each log. The trench is wide enough to support the following log. An older cabin observed lacked these trenched corners. Instead the end of each log was hewed almost square for a distance of about six inches from the end, leaving a rectangular tongue. These tongues were placed upon one another and at right angles, making a tight, close joint. This construction is said to have been introduced in the Upper Liard area by a Tahltan Indian. Both types of corners are shown in Figures 4, A and 4, D (see also Pl. 10, D). Since logs are rarely cut to exact dimensions they may be trimmed after they have been put in place. This is sometimes done in the course of construction and sometimes after the construction is completed (Pl. 6, D). Often it is only partially done. Window frames are cut after the walls have reached the height of the window opening. A home cabin generally contains one or two windows; a line cabin seldom contains more than one window and sometimes has none. The doorway is similarly cut after the required number of logs are in position and the doorjamb added after the rest of the structure is finished.

The construction of the roof is one of the most important tasks in housebuilding. Three ridge poles are generally used in a home cabin; a smaller line cabin, however, may have only one center ridge pole. Very large home cabins sometimes contain five ridge poles to support

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the heavy roof. The first, or auxiliary, pair of ridge poles is put in position after the last log has been laid along the length of the building and another along the width. This width log, as well as all subsequent ones added above it, is cut more narrowly than the underlying logs. Two ridge poles, as well as the center ridge log, project about two feet in front of the building and thus provide support for the foreward eaves. The width logs, on which the first pair of ridge poles is laid, project about three or four feet on the outside of the building. On these projections are placed two lengthwise running logs used as braces to support the roof poles and the packed dirt, which is generally used for roofing. In the older type of log cabin this point of construction is somewhat complex and is illustrated in Figure 4, B.

When the central ridge pole is in position, the roofing is begun. Where lumber is not available, poles, five or six inches in diameter, are hewed on what will constitute the interior face and set close together on the ridge poles. The bottom ends of these roof poles rest on the brace logs previously described and illustrated. Sometimes split poles are used in roofing. Harry Lang's cabin contains forty-five logs, or a total of ninety split poles. The old type cabin illustrated, contains sixty-eight spruce poles, 6'5" long, lightly hewed on their inner face. A square hole is left to accommodate the stovepipe, and the roof is then covered with moss. Dirt, to a depth of about six inches, is then piled on the moss and packed firm. Instead of a pole and dirt roof, a piece of eight ounce canvas is sometimes used for roofing. If a mill sawed lumber is used for the roof, it is covered with a double layer of roofing paper. Older cabins may be floored with split and hewed poles. Today floors of mill sawed lumber are the rule. Line cabins are usually floorless, the ground being covered with spruce brush.

Cabins are chinked after construction is completed. Chinking consists of moss or mud applied from the outside of the building while on the interior the spaces between the poles are stuffed with moss, old clothing, or sawdust. On both the interior and exterior walls, wide gaps between the logs are sometimes chinked with thin spruce saplings nailed in place. To add further protection from wind and drafts, wrapping paper and cardboard are nailed against the inside walls. Windows are all purchased readymade in Lower Post and transported to the settlements. A home cabin can be completed in about ten days, if two or three men are available for the work. A smaller line cabin can be built in two or three days by two men. Housebuilding is always done by men.

Sentiment generally favors a house to an open camp. On the other hand, some older people are reluctant to move into a house before the weather turns really cold. Mrs. Man wanted to remain in a tent as long as possible and not hole herself up "like a bear."

Only rarely are cabins dismantled and moved to a new site. Occasionally cabins, which have not been kept in good repair, are wrecked after a new cabin has been constructed.

The completion of a new house is sometimes marked by a drinking party. In Lower Post, River Joe celebrated the completion of his house with a dance. Men who built cabins expressed strong pride in their achievements. Nick Lang, who was building a large house in Lower Post told the writer: "First time pretty hard; next time, by God, easy!"

Furnishings. A limited amount of furniture is found in cabins and houses; less in tent frames. A tent contains no furniture other than a stove in winter.

Home cabins and tent frames may contain a table, simple benches, and sometimes a

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is primarily determined by practical and immediate considerations—their value to ego's self-sufficiency or their threat to his efficient functioning.

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The strongly developed practical interest in adaptation leads the Indian to neglect beauty and to be unresponsive to perfectionism as an end in itself—that is, above and beyond the degree required for utility. Embroidery on moccasins, mittens, and gloves is reduced to a minimum or often lacking. Only one or two women enjoy a reputation for fancy sewing, although many more are acknowledged as skillful, practical dressmakers. Ours are particularly crude and unfinished. Experiments made to deduce the emotional aspects of cultural products in connection with clothing and housing consistently revealed qualities of simplicity and nonperfection. Mittens, moccasins, and children's underwear, without being fitted to the wearer's dimensions, are cut with a general impression of size, allowing a little extra so that the final product is always somewhat larger than necessary. The style is baggy, the garment only crudely shaped to the body. Analysis of several log cabins reveals a striking lack of perfectionism. In one cabin some roof poles are partly hewed while many are not hewed at all. Where the logs join at the corners they are often not all sawed off to
[353]
equal length. Another cabin is only half floored. The interiors of most houses are not painted or otherwise finished. Such housing style permits the inference that the people's primary concern is with utility, adequacy of a structure being defined primarily in terms of the building's use for the obvious function of weather protection. Thus we find walls lined with
[342]
cardboard to keep out drafts, and moss chinking far more prevalent than the more finished-looking chinking with pole cleats which many white men use. It may be pointed out, however, that the increasing use of mill sawed lumber, which is easier to manipulate than logs, is resulting in larger and, in some cases, more finished looking cabins. While the neglect of nonfunctional artistic production may be partly determined by the fact that Kaska society has not been able to develop leisure time patterns of self-expression, any total picture of this neglect must also take into consideration the dominant motivation toward utility. It is consistent with configurational thinking that such personality values should be developed in members of a society forced to live under rigorous environmental conditions, where energy has to be largely confined to adaptation.

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Attitudes condemning waste may be partly ascribed to utilitarian considerations. Food leftovers, instead of being discarded or fed to dogs, are preserved for future meals. At the first potlatch, food remains returned by the servers were scraped from dishes and, after being mixed with the contents of the cooking pots, were served again. Similar economy is revealed toward the possessions of the dead. Destruction of death goods is minimal; only worn or soiled clothes are burned. Valuable goods (like a sleeping robe) are freed from contagion by washing or by allowing a period of time to dissolve the association between object and deceased owner.

Social sanctions supporting utilitarian resourcefulness are not lacking. Both the ideal man and woman are skillful. Young men are quietly proud of their technological achievements and older men of their special technical abilities. A skillful individual is selected for favorable comment and is also favored by a prospective parent-in-law, while an unskillful youth has his behavior deplored. More important than the social recognition of these attributes is the fact that practical skills and ingenuity greatly lighten the individual's adaptive problems, guarantee him comfort, and contribute to survival.

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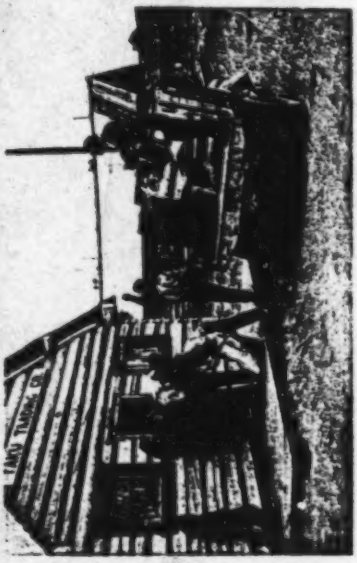

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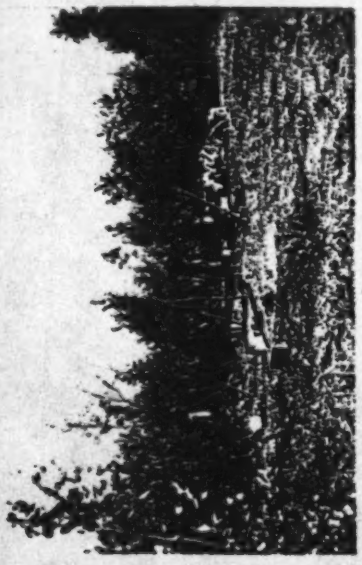

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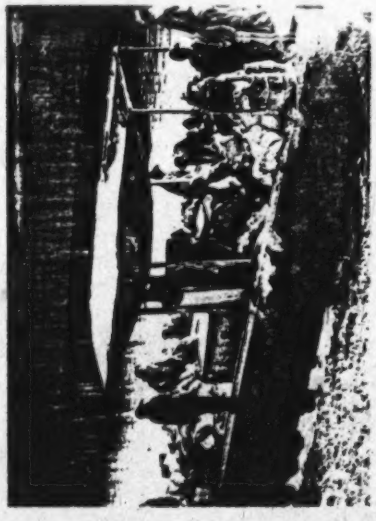

C

ENROUTE TO THE BUSH AND CAMP SCENE

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[END PLATE 9]

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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A

B

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C

D

WORK, PLAY, AND SHOWBOX BEHAVIOR

[END PLATE 10]

881 same manner as others. All songs thus introduced were
533 named after the person who introduced them and were called "so and so's song". Most lyric songs and many dance songs are known to have originated in the ways described. The themes of these songs were varied; some were of a serious, others of a comic nature. Some were love songs, and some described the doings and feelings of people and animals. It seems none of them were real medicine or shaman's songs.

171 No annual or other manitou dances were held
535 as among the Salish where young people sang their
787 manitou songs in turn.

884 Young men from the time of their attaining
342 puberty until marriage lived in a lodge by themselves. Where people lived in large camps sometimes as many as twenty young men inhabited the young men's lodge at one time. This lodge was of no special construction, being
[615] of the same shape and materials as other lodges. All
884 the young unmarried men of both phratries lived together in this lodge, those of the Raven phratry sleeping on one side, those of the Wolf on the other. They slept, ate, played games, sang and amused themselves. They went out from here singly and in groups to the mountains for hunting of game, training etc. They got their own wood and water and did their own cooking. They mixed very little with other people and kept to themselves.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

CAMP AND CAMP LIFE

SHELTER

UPPER LIARD KASKA. The people of the Cassiar lived in structures ranging in complexity from a spruce-brush windbreak to a large, multifamily dwelling. When compared to a universal range of shelter types the housing of the Kaska Indians remains generally simple. Such simplicity nevertheless supported life in some degree of comfort when outdoor temperatures dropped to 50 or more degrees below Zero Fahrenheit. 342

One informant had heard that "a long time ago people dug into the side of a hill" for a place to live. The actual excavation of such a house took place in summer. Following the completion of the autumn hunt (around November) the group returned to the cave, piled brush around the walls, and blocked the entry with moss or skins. Smoke escaped through a smoke hole provided in the roof. In this setting the people passed the period of most intense winter cold.[1] Better recalled dwelling types included the conical lodge and inverted V-shaped or A-type house. Both styles provided semi-permanent winter dwellings. It must be realized, however, that their occupancy lasted only as long as a particular territory produced game and fish for food. When these resources failed or if nearby caches became exhausted, people quit a camp in a search for better stocked regions. The conical shelter consisted of a series of poles closely placed (probably on a tipi foundation) and covered with sod, bark, or moss but not usually with skins.[2] A fire laid in the center of the building served the several families. As many as 20 people could be accommodated in a conical lodge, the diameter of which reached 20 feet. One informant (O) reported that sometimes circular ground-plan dwellings were built on stone foundations. Inverted V-shaped houses may be regarded as composite structures that included two converging lean-tos.[3] Roofed with closely laid poles overlaid by brush, sod, or moss, these shelters often accommodated two, generally related, families. The front and rear ends were blocked with brush except for a narrow passage at one end closed by a tanned-skin curtain. Each family prepared its own food over a common fire laid in the center of the dwelling. Customarily each family occupied one side of the fire. Children slept toward the rear. [372]

Simple lean-tos, occasionally covered with skins, provided temporary shelter as did various types of snow dwellings. In preparing the simplest kind of open snow camp, people cleared an area of snow, placed brush on the ground, and, after making a fire,

[1] For other data concerning cave shelters in the area see below, p. 63.

[2] The pattern corresponds closely to the conical earth lodge of the contemporary Attawapiskat Cree. Honigmann, *Attawapiskat Cree field notes* (1947–48).

[3] Tahltan "lodges were of the single and double lean-to types, mostly the latter. They were roofed with poles close together, and sometimes further covered with brush, bark, and earth or snow. No conical lodges were used, nor semiunderground dwellings." (Teit, *On Tahltan (Athapaskan) Work* [1912], 485.) Morice has termed the A-shaped house as the original shelter of the Déné and affirms that skin tipis were later acquired from the eastern Cree. Morice, *Great Déné Race* (1906–10), 583–584.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

piled snow high all around the central space. The warmth of the fire caused the snow to freeze, a condition that insured better protection from wind. At other times people dug into a snowbank to fashion an overnight shelter. Snow shovels were not widely used among the Liard River Indians, so that people moved snow with the aid of snowshoes. A snowhouse contained a fire, the smoke of which escaped through a hole in the roof.

In summer threat of an enemy attack led the people to excavate pits near the camp where young children could be secreted and covered with caribou hides (possibly camouflaged with earth?). Birch-bark, semisubterranean, and grass-mat houses remained unidentified by informants. Log cabins commenced to enjoy popularity after the introduction of the steel ax following white contact. Skin-covered tipis are said to have been introduced by a Fort Liard family. It is interesting to note that while anthropological thinking might classify together the sod- and skin-covered conical lodge Indians tend to distinguish them sharply.

Appurtenances remained scarce in aboriginal dwellings. Spruce brush or grass provided floor covering, the grass first being softened by rubbing between the hands. People especially favored grass for sleeping places. Raised platforms did not find a place in houses and stuffed pillows are also denied. Sleepers lay covered by robes of woven rabbit or ground-hog skins or blankets containing a number of beaver and marten pelts sewn together. Drifted snow and other debris were brushed away from dwellings with a willow broom.

Other than the cache, non-residential structures were represented only by the sudatory, which was built over ground that had been excavated to a depth of about 12 inches. Atop the excavated space, willow poles were bent and lashed together, following which a sheathing of tanned skins went over the framework. A hole for ventilation opened in the top of the dome. Sweat houses contained no entry, the user simply lifting the lower edge of the cover when he wished to enter or leave. Hot rocks dashed with water furnished steam as well as a heat so intense that the bather might be driven to lift a corner of the cover to admit cool air. Ceremonial structures found no place in the Kaska settlement and even the brush enclosed dance or ceremonial plaza appears to have been lacking.[4]

The efficiency of any dwelling in winter depended closely on fire. Heat also constituted a prerequisite for many technological operations, ranging from cooking to snowshoe making. Two versions of a common myth explaining the origin of fire (or rather of pyrites) are given below.

One fellow [Bear?] had this rock and didn't want to give it to the Indians. He wanted to keep it. Another fellow stole the stone and gave it to Fox Man who ran away. Tsuguya [a culture hero] secured the rock and made fire with it. Then he threw the rock all around, all over the country, so that everybody could have fire (X).

Crow and Wolf held a meeting. This took place before there were any people in the world. Crow had been in the habit of flying around and when any animal killed meat he would be on hand to take some

[4] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 89; Osgood, *Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin* (1936), 52, 122, 125.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard
Dease River

and bring it back. Wolf, his brother-in-law, saw this and said, "What are you doing?" Crow replied, "I got this from somebody." Wolf said, "Did you ask for it?" Crow answered that he had not and Wolf pointed out that Crow had behaved wrongly. 372 539

Wolverine belonged to Crow. Together Wolverine and Crow continued to steal many things. Grizzly Bear was Wolf. Fox belonged to Crow. Grizzly Bear told Wolverine not to rob caches. Grizzly Bear had a flat stone secured under his belt. Chickadee came around in cold weather and was nearly frozen. "Grandpa," he said to Grizzly Bear, "I'm just about frozen." The latter replied, "Sit down alongside the fire." Wolf and the other animals were hiding outside of the circle of light. Grizzly Bear turned his back to the fire when Chickadee said, "You've got lots of lice on your belt." Grizzly Bear invited Chickadee to pick off the lice. Chickadee never picked the lice but worked with the belt, under which was the piece of stone. While Chickadee did this, the balls under Grizzly's tail began to twitch. As they began to move, Chickadee caressed them and urged them to be quiet. At the same time he took knot after knot out of the belt and finally seized the flint and ran off. Grizzly Bear went in pursuit but without any shoes on. That's why Grizzly has no moccasins today.

Chickadee flew a short distance with the flint and gave it to Wolf who ran half way and gave it to Lynx. Lynx went a little way and Grizzly Bear nearly got it from him. Fox got it and ran a little way and then stopped until Grizzly Bear came close. He barked, ran a short distance, and waited again. He then dashed across a gulch. Grizzly followed him and Fox ran to the next gulch and again barked. Grizzly became angry and growled. He burst the balls beneath his tail and walked off, not knowing what he would do in fall time. Fox came out on top of a mountain and smashed the flint all over and threw it around the country so that people everywhere secured fire.[5]

As these tales suggest, fire was generated by the strike-a-light method, tinder consisting of soft, dry grass; dry birch bark; or an unidentified fungus tree growth. People always built blazes on the surface of the ground, dugout fireplaces being unknown and clay-enclosed hearths remaining restricted to rafts. In conical shelters a small circle of sticks six or seven inches high sometimes surrounded the fire and prevented the floor brush from working too close to the blaze. On winter nights fires that had been fed with cottonwood were carefully banked with ashes in order to make them last until morning, when a little blowing quickly aroused a flame. During winter movement people carried fire in bark vessels that presumably contained a packing of moss. On long journeys women swung glowing sticks of rotten wood as they walked. An informant (X) reported hearing of fire drills in use, he thought, among the Babine Lake people (Carrier?). 372 354

Dease River Kaska. The Dease River people did not ordinarily construct shelters in summer, when people were content to live in open camps or under brush lean-tos when it rained. In winter two types of dwellings appeared, the inverted v-shaped structure and the conical lodge. Both contained fires in the center of the ground space. The foundation of the v-shaped shelter consisted of a ridge pole suspended between two forked sticks, the front and rear ends being closed with brush except for a single entry. Brush with snow piled on top roofed the building, in which one or two families resided. Conical lodges consisted of a circle of poles covered with spruce brush or spruce bark piled over with snow. Only a rich man could completely cover his lodge with skins but quite customarily a skin flap closed the entry of a dwelling.[6] While circular lodges oc- 342

[5] When specifically asked about Tsuguya's role in the theft of fire the informant thought that Fox must have been working for the culture hero.

[6] According to a Kechika River informant conical lodges were standard dwellings at Forts Nelson and Liard but in the Kechika basin people aboriginally built only the inverted-V type structures.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Dease River
Tselon

342 casionally reached a diameter of 30 feet and accomodated several families, smaller structures built in this style and housing only one or two families occurred more frequently. Birch-bark and grass-mat buildings were unknown. A Kechika River man appeared vaguely familiar with the snowhouse but would venture no description of its form or [462] construction. Women erected houses and were believed to construct better structures than men. Qualities governing selection of a dwelling site included "hard" (i.e., dry) ground and accessibility to water. Dry wood could be found nearly everyplace. People never excavated the ground of a house site.

592 Within a dwelling women occupied the area nearest the entry, while a husband had his place toward the rear. Daughters slept near the mother, sons farther back from the 513 entry. Infants rested in skin hammocks suspended over the mothers' sleeping places. Along the Kechika River, at least, babies used hammocks of plaited, split spruce roots [354] lined with skins. Specially constructed fireplaces or sleeping platforms did not occur. People lived on a carpet of spruce brush and at night covered themselves with robes of sewn marten and ground-hog pelts or plaited rabbit-skin. Grizzly bear robes, because of their size and warmth, provided especially desirable blankets. Some people used pillows made by packing duck or partridge feathers in a smoked skin bag.

343 The sweat house, built for the use of both sexes, was the only type of non-residential [349] structure. Hemispherical in shape and about four feet high it contained a roof opening designed to permit the escape of excess heat and steam. No ceremonial enclosures occurred.

372 Both sexes showed equal skill in kindling fire by the strike-a-light method.[7] One informant denied the use of fire drills (S) but another man constructed a bow drill 177 which, he claimed, had been displaced from the culture because of its poorer efficiency compared to the use of flint and pyrites (WT). Boys and girls commonly sought fuel with some assistance from adults. In winter when camp moved women carried fire on glowing poles 15 or 18 inches long. Fire kept through the night if banked with earth or ashes.

342 *Tselona.* Winter dwellings conformed to the usual two types: conical with a framework of poles and inverted V-shaped. Roofing utilized spruce brush, moss, and sod but never grass thatch. Occasionally a household possessed sufficient skins to cover a conical lodge. [343] In summer the Indians did not live in houses and only rain impelled them to put up hasty lean-tos. Surprisingly the construction of sweat houses met with denial. In the

[7] A tale collected by Teit tells how Bear's monopoly of the fire stone was broken by a little bird who visited Bear's lodge to warm himself. While picking lice from the Bear the bird broke the latter's belt and flew off with the stone, passing this object to a number of waiting animals. Last to receive the prize was Fox whose flight to a high mountain exhausted Bear. "Fox broke up the fire-stone on the top of the mountain, and threw the fragments a piece to each tribe. Thus the many tribes all over the earth obtained fire; *and this is why there is fire in the rocks and woods everywhere now.*" As a result of losing fire Bear made a hole in the earth to keep himself warm in winter—the origin of the bear's den! Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 443–444.

It will be recalled that the Upper Liard Indians made fire with the strike-a-light method. The Tlingit (including the Chilkat) used fire drills, including the bow type, as well as percussion methods of fire making. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 202.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Tsalona
Espatotena
Upper Liard

In the dwelling people lived on the spruce-brush carpeted ground and slept under blankets of woven rabbit skin or stitched ground-hog pelts with tanned-skin pillows stuffed with feathers. The strike-a-light method provided fire and was used in conjunction with a fungus that grew on birch trees, from which tinder was prepared. Informants mentioned the fire drill but its use appears to have been relatively recent. Travelers in both summer and winter carried fire on glowing poles, the only type of fire carrier admitted.

Espatotena. From a trapper operating in the South Nahani drainage Godsell heard of a cave " 'cut from the rock half-way up the face of a hundred foot precipice that spans a two-thousand-foot valley. It was about eighteen feet by twelve, with a hole running straight up through the rock, which must have been a sort of chimney.' " Two additional caves were also reported, " 'chiselled from living rock by human hands.' "[8] While the construction of rock shelters by stone-tool using aborigines may be questioned, the use of cave shelters seems very plausible and is in fact corroborated by data we ourselves obtained as well as by other investigators. Dr. Wesley Bliss of the University of New Mexico entered the South Nahani country in 1938 and reports on cave habitations.[9]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Upper Liard Kaska. Camp provided the place where the Kaska woman manufactured clothing for her husband, children, and herself. Tanned caribou skin comprised the principal material which she sewed with the aid of sinew line and bone needles pushed with a flat piece of bone held in the palm of her hand. Women used a work board when cutting the patterns of moccasins and mittens. Small sewing implements not in use were kept in a fish-skin bag. During cold weather fur robes supplemented tanned-skin garments. These had been tanned by women workers or else been plaited from strips of rabbit, ground-hog, and gopher skins without the aid of a frame. Body parts served for measuring clothing materials.

In summer each sex wore a tanned-skin breech cloth supported from an inner belt, a tailored coat or dress with sleeves reaching to just below the elbow and girdled by a belt of tanned skin or woven porcupine quills, trousers of the same material suspended at the hips from the inner belt, and moccasins. In winter certain adjustments were made to this basic dress, notably through the use of additional garments. The breech cloth became a length of plaited rabbit skin, while over the coat both sexes slipped a parka made of smoked caribou skin or of sheep skin tanned with the hair on. The parka reached to the middle of the thigh and splits on both sides of the lower edge were provided with a lacing that could be tightened to insure a snug fit. Parka sleeves sometimes continued

[8] Godsell, *Romance of the Alaska Highway* (1945), 92.

[9] From the Pelly River country Field reports that the Indians "years ago lived in open camps sheltered on three sides by throwing up logs and brush." A fire was located in front of these lean-tos which were further covered with caribou skins. (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 5.) In 1885 Schwatka reported for Ayan, a village below Fort Selkirk (Tutchoni area) that a few Indians had built log cabins "of the most squalid and worthless character, which they leave in winter for the better protection of the tent." There is nothing to suggest that these log houses are aboriginal. The same writer speaks of conical shelters covered with a double layer of skins and banked with snow. Schwatka, *Report on a Military Reconnaissance made in Alaska in 1883* (1900), 191.